

4

THE
Present Interest
OF
ENGLAND
STATED.

BY
A Lover of his King and Countrey



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THE P R E F A C E.

Interest, is a word of several definitions, but that which in Creatures, having reason or sense, is preservation and propagation, is that in a State, which I mean by Interest; and this is either Domestick looking inward, as relating to the particular frame and kind of Government, or Foreign looking outwards, as regarding such alterations abroad, as may be of good or evil consequence to a State; and such counsels, deliberations, or actions, as may improve good, or prevent evil, are, according to the Interest of a Nation, and the contrary against it. And taking the words thus, the prosperity, or adversity, if not the life and death of a State, is bound up in the observing or neglecting its Interest. For as no Country was ever unhappy, that followed it, so none ever prospered (except by chance) that forsook or missed it; and consequently, it is matter of the greatest concernments to a Prince, to study, and make himself master of it, that in keeping his Counsellors in awe, by his own knowledge and experience, in matters of State, he may have his affairs the better and faithfuller prosecuted; but in searching for his Interest, he ought to be exceeding careful, of not being misled by former examples, which are to Politicians, as of old, the Stars to Navigators, rightly understood, the best Guide, and mistaken, the most dangerous. For Interest in all Countreys is changeable, that which was in one Age, not being alwayes the same in the next, as the Crowns of Spain and France do sufficiently evince. For Spain being by corruption in Counsellors, and Ministers of State, fraud, oppression, and consenage in Officers, and Servants,

The Preface.

with persecution in the Church, and severity in Government, causing several Revolts, brought at this time low, and into a languishing condition, the Interest of the European Princes, is changed from that of being against the House of Austria, and for France, to that of being for it, and against France, the latter being at present, under more than suspicion, that having now got the advantage of Spain, they intend to improve it to an universal Monarchy, as Spain formerly designed. But as a Prince ought to be studious in discovering of his Interest, so to be solicitous in examining the Integrity of Counsels given him, lest by corrupt Counsellors, he should be put (for private ends) upon designs prejudicial, if not contrary and destructive to the Interest of his Countrey. And because the wisdom, or defects of Princes, appears much in their choice of Counsellors and Ministers of State (who under them, are the managers of their Interests) there ought to be in the election of such, a special eye to their principles, as well as abilities, avoiding with care, all avaricious persons, as men, who for advantage, will upon all occasions, forsake, and desert all fidelity, the chief ingredient of a good Counsellor. For when men having parts without honesty, they are but the greater instruments of mischief; and we find that little more than common parts assisted with integrity, industry, and diligence, have done, and do the greatest things in the world: Nay, that ordinary parts, with such qualifications, do more than the sublimest without them, the art of Government, not being so mysterious, a State Monopolists would make it, honesty (as King James used to say) being the best policy, and surely, that is the best Government, that provides most for the employment of the Honestest men. For as no State can flourish, where their Interest is not pursued, so publick Interest will never be the Rule, where Counsellors are not faithful, and when publick Principles do not govern men, private Interest will, and render their Countrey as Merchandize for the highest Chapman; so that although the Notion that Interest cannot lye is true, yet it is not (in Subjects) singly to be trusted. For since private, worldly, and carnal Interest (which in persons wanting honesty is always mercenary) may be changed by the bribing bounty of other Princes;

The Preface.

Princes, or States; it is a great Error in those, understanding their interest, to rely upon their Counsellors, or Officers, without examining, whether their Counsels and Actions are pursuant of, and consonant to their Interest; or yet in great trusts, to presume upon any other qualifications in Counsellors, and Civil and Military Ministers, then either truly religious, or truly honourable moral principles, which cannot change, as private simple Interest, not bottomed upon the one, or the other principle, will surely do according to the greatness of temptations: and therefore, as upon good or bad Counsellors, and Ministers, depends the happiness or infelicity of a Prince, and State, Sir Walter Rawleigh affirming, that a Commonwealth is more secure where the Prince is not good, then where the Ministers are bad, so they cannot shew more wisdom, then insignally rewarding, and encouraging the former, and exemplary punishing the latter. I know that Counsels are not alwayes to be judged of, according to success, it being possible, that honest and well grounded Counsels may miscarry, and to punishmen in such cases, were to discourage the ablest and most virtuous Persons from serving of their Prince or State; but sometimes designs are written in such large characters of selfishness and corruption, the foundations of them being laid in lyes, and forgeries, as is legible to every impartial Eye; and when such appears, by a true discovery upon inquiry, the Criminals ought to be made examples to posterity.

Formerly the affairs of Christendome were supposed to be chiefly swayed by the two great powers of Austria (wherein Spain is understood) and France: from whom other Princes and States derived their Peace and warr, according to the several parties they adhered unto. But now the puissance of the former being so much abated, that it deserves no rank above its Neighbours, France of the two, remains the only formidable Potentate, of whose greatness, all Princes and Sates are as much concerned to be jealous, as formerly they were of that of Austria. For, considering the French King, in relation to France, stored with good Officers, Men, Money, and Ammunition, to his several augmentations gained from all his Neighbours, by conquest, exchange, or purchase (as from Spain, Italy, Germany, Lorrain,

The Preface.

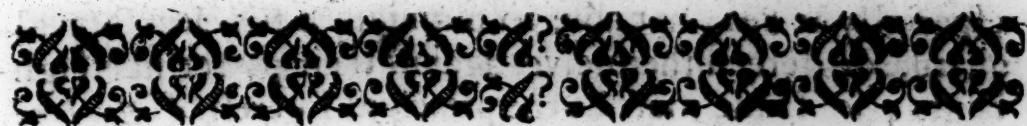
and the Spanish Netherlands) giving him free passage into their several Dominions, and to his present Naval
† The late Dutch war. Strength, increased lately by an unhappy accident † he is accommodated for any Design his ambition shall prompt him to, or at least, should the sickly and weak young King of Spain dye childless, to dispute uncontrollably, his rights to all the Countreys in Europe belonging to that Crown, as also to contend for the Imperial dignity, should he survive the present Emperour, if he staves till then: and if his aims may be guessed at by the writings of his Subjects, which are commonly the transcripts or presages of their Princes sense and mind, he pretends to all the Lands, lying on his side the River Rhein, as belonging to the antient Kingdome of Austratia, (his supposed inheritance) which caused a learned man of Strasbourg (who suspected their Commonwealth to be struck at) to maintain in writing (some few years past) the Rights of their City against all pretenders. And thus upon the whole, considering France furnished with a King, not wanting high thoughts or activity, lest cannot be expected from him, than to design an universal monarchy, which consequently makes it the Common Interest of all European Princes and States (as they value their own safety) to unite, for the keeping of him within bounds and limits.

And now as England is not the least in the general concern of Europe, and because seated by it self, and divided by the Sea from all other Nations, I shall begin with it.

December 27.

1670.

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Holding it necessary in the Discoursing of *England*, to consider its Domestick, and forreign Interests severally; I shall observe that method, and handle them distinctly, beginning with the first.

The Isle of Great *Britain*, of which *England* is the most considerable part, and that which is chiefly taken notice of in the World, having the advantage of an Island, in being divided from all other Countries, by the Ocean: Narrow and Northern Seas is not subject to those incursions that Contiguous Countries are, not being in danger from abroad whilst its Naval strength is preserved, by keeping their shipping in good repair, and their Marriners in couraged by good usage: Neither is it fit for foreign acquisitions, in regard of the uncertainty of wind and weather, and chargeableness of transportation; but contenting themselves with the bounds that providence hath given them, making it their designe to improve their advantage for trade, to increase their greatness at home, is their first Domestick interest; for as self defence is the chief interest of every Creature, Natural or Poli-

Politick, and as without trade, no Nation can be formidable, especially at Sea, nor able to maintain a sufficient Naval-guard, or defend themselves against their powerful Neighbours; so Trade must be the principal Interest of *England*. And this Nature seems to admonish them unto, prohibiting their affecting Foreign Conquests, by placing them with advantages as they are an Island. First, for preservation, and without much for augmentation. Secondly, for viewing the actions of their Neighbours, and qualifying them with might, and strength sufficient to render them Arbitrators in their differences. And thirdly, for advancing both their Home, and Foreign Traffick, in endowing them with Natural helps for Trade beyond all other Countries: As with plenty of staple Commodities, incompassing them with profitable, and rich Seas, convenient and safe Havens, and Bayes, bold Coasts, Rivers and good Ports, all affording matter of encouragement for foreign Commerce, incomparable means in their many harbours for increasing of their Navigation, and great invitations to strangers to make use of these advantages in trading with the Countrie. And yet besides these Natural helps, *England* hath further the advantage of all other Countries, in some customs, and practises: As in that of breeding the younger Sons of Gentlemen, and sometimes of the Nobility, to the Ministry, Law, Trade, and Physick, without prejudice to their Gentility, their Heralds not requiring so much as any restauration in such cases; although it frequently falls out, that Gentlemen, during their Apprentiships to Trades, come by the death of their elder Brothers to be Barons. In which particular, *England* may well be said to come nearest unto antient Prudence, and right Reason, of all other Nations. For if no Country can be rich or flourish without Trade, as indisputable it cannot, nor be more or less considerable, but according to the proportion it hath of Commerce; and that antiently men were esteemed, honoured, and dignified according to the benefit, and commodity their Country had received by them; the Traders of a Nation ought to most encouraged, and Trade accounted the most

most honourable of all professions. Secondly, by their greatest nobility, marrying with all degrees, where fortunes answers their qualities. Thirdly, in his Majesties Prerogative, for dignifying men of acquired estates, as he sees cause. And fourthly, in that the single possession of estates, renders in reputation the owners of them Gentlemen, all being vast benefits to the Nation, (which other Countreys are strangers unto) in preventing idleness in their numerous Gentry, and incouraging industry in all sorts of people. In *Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland*, it is esteemed below the equality of a Gentleman, to be bred to either Trade, Law, Ministry, or Physick: (except that among the Papists, some are bred to the Church to get great estates, that leaving no known posterity, they may thereby advance their families, as they many times do in *Germany, Italy*, and other places.) Neither will the greatest fortunes tempt them to marry into the families of any of these Callings, they choosing to live miserably, as many of them do, rather than to match under their degree, or at least, not into such, as they esteem noble. And indeed, they cannot well do otherwise, without danger of degradation, one of the reasons, for the deposition of *Errick King of Sweden*, Uncle to *Gustavus Adolphus*, being the undervaluing himself in his marriage; and if the Emperour, or *Northern Kings*, conferr honours upon any of their Subjects, not of ancient decent, they seldom last longer in esteem, than the first Generation, the families of these Countreys being so stated, as makes it almost impossible, upon any account to introduce a new lasting Race of Gentility, save that in *Sweden* they have in these latter ages allowed a general command in their Armies, the faithful and prudent discharging the employment of an Ambassador extraordinary, or the election into the Senate, which consists of 40 persons, to be a good original of new Nobility or Gentry. In the *United Netherlands*, the Gentlemen are much upon the same punctilio's, except that in marriage (for good fortunes) they would mix; but that the trading party, not valuing Gentility, without proportionable

portionable estates, seldome, or never, willingly do it. And from hence it is (in a great part) that *Gelderland*, and *Overysfel*, two Provinces that abound in number of Gentry, are so poor, whilst *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friesland*, the first, and last, having few ancient Gentry; and the second, none but the Prince of *Orange*, are so rich. *France* is not so strictly tyed up by these rules, as the preceeding Countreys are, their Nobility marrying any where for money, as the Neices of the last great Cardinal shews, besides that they allow of estates got by Trade, to be laudable foundations for new raised families, in both which principles, they are surely wise, and thrive the better, whilst other Countreys are kept low by their contrary practices; for were it not for the benefit that that Countrey reaps by the encouragement which is given there unto Trade, it were impossible for them to subsist under their great burthens; but no people comes so near, the *English*, in the chief of these circumstances, as the wise *Venetians*, *Genovesers*, *Lucrefers*, and the *Florentines*, who all allowing the exercise of Traffick in their Nobility and Gentry, reap the benefit of such Prudence, as appears in the three first, exceeding their Neighbours much, in prosperity and wealth, and the Prince and People of the last, being abundantly the better by it; for were it not for their principle of Commerce, encouraged by some Liberty in Conscience, connived at in *Leghorne* (the only Port-Town of Trade under that Prince) the people would be as poor, as they are thin, not able to live under the severity of that Government: but if these instances be not sufficient to prove the profit that accrews unto a Countrey, by a trading Gentry, there needs no further travelling for demonstration, than *England*, where before the reformation of Religion, that Gentlemen had idle Convents to put their younger Sons into, Trade was there so small, that the Customs amounted not to 10000 *l. per an.* whereas they are now, or have been lately, more than fifty times as much; which proves, First, the advantage that Trade brings both to King, and People; and Secondly, that Trade hath been much increased, by taking

taking younger Brothers off from their sloathful way of living, and applying them, with their Patrimonies to Trade, and Commerce. The experience of this, may reprove those, who both in * discourse, and writing, plead for the vain ancient custom of Idleness, in the younger brothers of *England*, as if they preferred being their eldest brothers servants, with the privilege of filling up the lower end of their Tables, before the present laudable practice, and incumbant duty of industry, inabling them to live in equality with their eldest brothers. And surely, it is the glory, and not shame of *England* (as our new pretenders to Politicks would have it) that by Commerce, they have made themselves so formidable in the world, whilst all other *Northern* Countreys (the *United Netherlands* as to their Gentry not excepted) by their superstitious adhering to their old customs, are so inconsiderable. And certain it is, that *England* could not have had those great things to have boasted of at Sea, as now they have; nor could they stand before their Neighbours, were it not for Traffick, which is the onely thing that makes a Countrey rich,-----Law, and Physick, by great Fees, and corrupt Practice, having a great share in impoverishing this Nation, but none in the enriching of it, fees to both Professions being in all other Countreys very moderate, compaired with *England*; a Physician, in no other place, having for a visit above 18 *d. flor.* except at *Venice*, where it is 2 *s. 6 d.* and in some places, as at *Newport*, and *Lisse*, in *Flanders*, &c. but 6 *d.* and even at *Amsterdam*, and at *Antwerpen*, the first equal to any place for wealth, and the latter next considerable, not above 12 Stivers, which is about 13 *d.* and Lawyers 2 *s. 6. d.* for their opinion, and as much an hour, for a business that requires long consultation and work, much of their pleading being cast into that price; so that *England* may be reckoned to exceed in their fees to both Professions, ten times the rates of other Countreys. But if the benefit of Commerce be not sufficient to convince the enemies of trading Gentlemen, peradventure the impossibility of re-

* State of
England,
pag. 434.
435, 436.

ducing the Gentry and Nobility of *England*, to the mode of other Countries, without utter ruine to them, may do it, and therefore, they may do well to consider, that to answer other Countries in their Rules,

First, All the Families of the Gentry must be so stated, as that no way (not even by desert) may be left for increasing the number of them.

Secondly, None descended from them, either Males or Females, must marry any but such as are of those Families.

Thirdly, None of their Sons must be bred to any Callings, either the Ministry, Law, or Physick; nay, nor be Court-Officers, except such as they account Noble: (which are not many, Secretaries not being in that number) they reckoning all Callings a debasement of Gentility, as well as Trade; and he that marries with the daughter of any person of a Calling, to deserve the punishment of degradation; And therefore, should Trade be maintained in *England*, in such a way, as the riches got by it, would remain in the Trading party, the Gentry would consequently be poor, compared with the Trading-Families; and as honours and respect will follow Estates, so the Gentry would be little regarded, whilst the Traders would carry away all Interest, and esteem in their Countries, as the Trading-Families of *Holland* do at present, from the poor Gentry of *Gelderland* and *Overijssel*, two provinces of the United *Netherlands*. But if these new Statists shall still desire the want of Trade, with poverty, rather than riches, with the practice of that they call the debasement of Gentility, they ought farther to consider, that the Case of *England* is not the same with other Northern Nations; for *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, being all upon the same Principle, of despising Trade in their Gentry, are alike poor, wanting Commerce, and so under the less danger one of another: But *England*, having rich and potent Neighbours, Trade is absolutely necessary for their preservation, in rendring them equal in power, both at Sea and Land, to their great and opulent emulators; so that in true *English*, they that plead for less plenty in the
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People of *England*, do no less in effect (though in Charity I will hope they think not so) than argue for exposing them as a prey to their enemies; but these principles are not strange in them, who, in pleading for keeping the people low, seem to have lost all Natural affection to their Countrey, in accusing the Commons (by which I suppose is meant the Yeomandry of *England*, who, without ostentation, may be called the best of their kind in the world, the Peasants of other Countries being Brutes in Religion, good Nature and Civility, compared to them) of being the coursest Bran, and the worst of People, &c. saying, they are so distastefull to their Gentry, that they wish their Countrey less plentiful, or more burthened with Taxes, as the way to refine the manners of the Common people. But, although the Competitors with *England* in Trade, may be glad of having a Confession of Pride, Insolence, and ill Conditions in the *English*, from one of themselves, to make use of abroad, for their own advantage, and to the prejudice of the *English* Nation; yet if it be believed by any that know *England*, they must have changed their observations of it, that people, having never lain under such a censure untill now, that it is untruly, maliciously, and imprudently clapped upon them, by, I may say, a degenerate Countreyman, who, in his reproaches, sheweth little of that natural affection, that every one oweth to the Land of their Nativity, nor suitableness to the Care his Majesty and Council take for promoting Trade, by several Councils appointed to that end, but what use soever Forreiners may make of these accusations against the *English* Traders, and Merchants in other Countries, I suppose the new Philosophy of Poverty, and the trans-plantation of all Non-conformists, called the Sons of *Belial*, (the ready way to penury) being best for a Nation, will have but few disciples; for though all is thought to be made good, by accusing the People of *England* of want of that humble respect, and awfull reverence to the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, that is due to them, those to whom the Commons of *England* are not strangers, know that.

*State of
England, p.
60, 61, 62.*

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that they are not wanting in good nature, or due observance to any of the three Orders, where there is Justice, and not Opression, in the two first, nor Cruelty, Ignorance, Profaneness, or Debauchery in the last; for although Greatness may procure Fear, nothing but Virtue, Honesty, and Justice, can Love, and true Reverence. It may well be questioned, who it is, that the men of these principles aim to gratifie by them? for nothing can be more prejudicial to his Majesty, than publickly to maintain, that Plenty in his people, is inconsistent with Peace and good Order in his Government, or that reducing the people to a complaining condition, is the way to make them happy, as this Gentleman insinuates.

This seeming digression, is necessitated, for Trade being the true and chief intrinsick Interest of *England*, without which it cannot subsist, thus much could not well be avoided, in the making out, that as well by some Constitutions and Customes, as by its Native Commodities and Conveniencies, it so far excells all other Kingdomes and Commonwealths in worldly advantages; that Providence may be said to have left nothing more to the People of *England* to do, in order to their earthly felicity, than desiring of it; the matter of Trade being naturally so prepared and fitted for them, that it may even be a reproach to them, not to advance Trade, though no great glory to do it; nothing, except some accidents extraordinary, or violent obstructions, (as imposing upon Conscience, &c-) or want of good Laws, or the execution of them, being capable of hindering the increase of it. And now, as from the growth of Trade, there doth naturally arise, not alone riches to the Subject, rendering a Nation considerable, but also increase of Revenue, and therein power and strength to the Sovereign; so it is the undoubted Interest of his Majesty, to advance and promote Trade, by removing all obstructions, and giving it all manner of encouragement.

As First, By lessening the over-great impositions upon Native Commodities, and upon such, as are necessarily imported to be manufactured in *England*, or to be again transported.

Secondly, By causing the Native Commodities to be faithfully and truly made, and ordered.

Thirdly, By laying all Companies open, or at least, by leaving them free, for all to come into them that please, without fines, more, than a small acknowledgement, tying them in such case, from burthening their own Manufactures with Taxes, as they usually do for the raising money to spend profusely and wantonly: what objections may be made against this general rule, in reference to the *East-India* Joynt-Stock, I know not; but this I am sure may be said for it, that the *Hollanders*, driving their *East-India* Trade by a Joynt-Stock, is no argument for *England* to do the same: for they having by the publick purse of the Company, purchased and conquered several Countreys, and petty Kingdoms, which ingageth them often in Wars with their Neighbours, and necessitateth them to keep up a standing Militia of 30 or 40000 men; with many Garrisons, and 100 or more Ships, equipped as well for Men of War at Sea, as for Merchants use; the carrying on of such a Government, and defraying the charge of it, is no otherwise feasible, than by a Society and Joynt-Stock, the maintaining of their propriety being impracticable by an open Trade; but the case not being the same with *England*, they having nothing in propriety, save the insignificant Castle of *St. George*, upon the Coast of *Cormandel*, their Trade being all by Factories, there is not that reason nor necessity upon them, for a Joynt-Stock, as upon *Holland*: and Societies, in restraining the number, both of Buyers of the Native, and Sellers of Foreign Commodities, must consequently tend to the abating the price of the first, and inhancing the rate of the latter; nothing being more plain to reason, than that the fewer buyers of Native Commodities, the cheaper they must be; as the fewer sellers of Foreign, the dearer they must be; and that which abateth the price

price of Native Commodities, and raiseth the price of Foreign, must be against the Interest of a Nation: and therefore the *Netherlanders*, who certainly understand the Interest of Trade, equal to any people living, though by making the Interest of Trade matter of State, they have an eye of regulation upon it, yet admits of no restraining Companies, as in *England*, except in their *East* and *West-India* Trades, where they have great possessions in propriety.

Fourthly, By carefully protecting Merchants abroad, from the wrongs and injuries of other Nations.

Fifthly, By making the transferring bills of debt good in Law, it being a great advantage to Traders (especially to young men of small Stocks) to be able to supply themselves with money, by the sale of their own bills of debt.

Sixthly, By constituting a Court Merchant, after the example of other Countries, to prevent tedious and chargeable Sutes in Law, taking men off from their business, and in making the advancement, and protection of Trade, matter of State.

Seventhly, By having Registers of all Real Estates, as is profitably practised in other Countries, and in this, within the Jurisdiction of *Taunton*, which in a natural way, will abate the Interest of money, and make Purchases certain; for it is no little prejudice and blemish to *England*, that of all the Countries in *Europe*, there is none, where Purchasers, or Lenders of money upon Land, are upon such uncertainty in their dealings, as in *England*.

Eighthly, By taking away all privileges (except of Parliament) from persons and places, tending to the defrauding Creditors of their debts, and extending the Statute of Bankrupt, against all persons not Trading, as well as Traders, it being but equal Justice, that all men should be alike liable to the payments of their debts.

Ninthly, Banks (not Bankers, but) such as are in use at *Venice*, *Amsterdam*, and *Hamburg*, where the several States are security keeping particular accounts of *Cash*, for all men, desiring it, are of great advantage to Merchants and Traders,

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in securing their monies from many casualties, and making receipts and payments, speedy and easie; besides, so certain, without the danger of losing acquittances, or by death, or otherwise to be in want of witnesses, as takes away all occasions of suits about them, Bank accounts being allowed for undeniable testimonies in Law; but of these, I confess there are no thriving and flourishing examples, save under Republicks.

Tenthly, By making Free Ports (which *England* of all Countries in *Europe*, is most proper for) giving liberty to Strangers, as well as Natives, upon payment of a small duty, to keep Magazines of goods ready for transportation to other Countries, according to the encouragement of Markets abroad, are great increasers of Trade and Navigation, and so of riches; as appears, not only by *Holland*, which is a Commonwealth, but also by *St. Mallows*, under the Monarchy of *France*, and *Legborne*, under that of *Tuskante*; the first, for its bigness, which contains but thirty six Acres of ground, being the richest City in *France*; and the latter, all the places in that Princes Dominions, which, compared to former times, can truly be said to flourish.

Eleventhly, Making business at the several Offices for Custome and Excise, and in all other places, as easie, and as little vexatious as may be, in employing such persons of honesty, integrity, and discretion, as will not abuse their trusts, no more in insolency than falseness, is a great encouragement to Traders; as also, making passing in and out of the Countrey by Strangers and Travellers, untroublesome, is a motive and inducement to them, to satisfy their curiosity in visiting the Kingdome, and spending their money in it. For to object, that the incivilities travellers meet with in going in, and coming out of *France*, hinders no resort thither, is more than can be proved; besides that, admit it is not, yet the like usage in any other Countrey, would be a prejudice to it, and would be surely so to *France*, were it not the humour at present of this giddy age, to run a madding after them; and certainly, the facility that is in doing business in *Holland*, and the unmolested egress and regress that

Strangers and Travellers meets with there, is a great benefit to them.

Twelfthly, Would the Trading Corporations, choose after the example of *London*, and according to their own Interests, and reason of their institution, their members for Parliament out of themselves, the Interest of Trade would probably be better understood, and faithfuller prosecuted than it is, and it cannot but be a prejudice to Commerce, that they generally send Courtiers, Countrey-Gentlemen, or their Recorders, to Parliament, who will be sure to prefer their parricular Interests before that of Trade, it being natural to all men, to seek their own profit, before that of others.

Thirteenthly, As *England* hath some beneficial Customes, which other Countries are strangers unto, so it hath others, as prejudicial, not known to Forrein Governments; as the great expences of Corporations, undoing many Citizens and Townsmen; a Freeman of *Tork*, or *Southampton*, not being able to go through all their Offices, according to Custome and expectation, in the first, under seven or eight hundred pound; and the latter, six or seven hundred; which may well be judged one cause, why *Tork* is so poor, and the other thrives no better; and the like observation may be made of the most of the other Corporations: The great charge of Sheriffs of the Counties, hath decayed, if not ruined many Families; and the expence of Barristers, at their Readings, is a provocation to them, to increase their tharking, and growing upon the people; all which bad effects, are to be wished were remedied, so far as taking away these unnecessary expences will do it: for I am not of their opinion, who think popular feasting and good fellowship, called Hospitality, to be the Interest of the Nation, because it consumes the growth of the Countrey; but on the contrary, that it is altogether against it: For, besides the provoking of the Judgements of God by such inordinate living, Excess weakens mens bodies, spends vainly their time, dulls their wits, and makes them unfit for action and business, which is the chief advancer of any Government, and to supply the want

want of people in any Land, by a riotous waisting the growth of it, is at best, but a bad effect, of a bad cause, and against that rule which forbids doing evil, that good may come of it; and therefore, the true Interest of any Country is, by immunities, priviledges, and liberty of Conscience, so to encourage, and encrease the number of people, us they may rather be (in a sober way of living) too many, than too few for their provisions: and we do find, that in former times, when Hospitality was in *England*, much greater than at present, and that meerly in the expence of their own provisions, without *French* dishes, or much of either *Spanish* or *French* Wines, the Countrey was poor to what it now is; and that it hath been the encrease of the Trade and People of that Nation by Liberty and Priviledges, indulging tender Consciences, that hath advanced them. And (as to the retrenching of expences) this seems to be agreeable to the principles of that wise and great States-man, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who saith, that taking away all superfluous charges and expences, as well in Hospitality as in lessening the fees, allowances, and wages of Ministers of little necessity, as also of pensions, rewards, entertainments, and donaries, to be a laudable parsimony used by the *Romans*, and other well-governed States.

But, fourteenthly, imposing upon Conscience, in matters of Religion, is a mischief unto Trade, transcending all others whatsoever, for if the Traders and Manufacturers be forced to fye their Countries, or withdraw their stocks, by vexatious prosecutions, the having Natural Commodities in a Countrey, or no great impositions upon them, will signifie little to the Prince or People; And Liberty of Conscience is not only the Common Interest of all the Nation, but especially of his Majesty, in that,

First, By it he obligeth all his Subjects equally to him, no man having just cause to be offended at another mans liberty, since he enjoys the same himself; and more particularly, he obligeth all the Non-conformists to him, who can have no other Interest than his, that in grace and favour

gives them Liberty; securing thereby, in an especial manner, all the several perswasions, from agreeing upon any thing, to the prejudice of their Common friend, whereas the Papists have, as others may have, other Interests. And, although a Prince arrived to that height which is above Envy, and all fear from abroad, may sometimes adventure in imposing in matters of Religion, it is not in any kind excusable in them, that are not in such a condition, but that stands in need, in reference to the potency of their Neighbours, of the hearts of all their people, especially in this age, when the large experience the world hath had of the insuccessfulness and evil of it, hath made, (even) in the greatest Potentates, a geeral abatement therein, and now, when it is too late, they grow weary of their rigour. The last *Pope*, as is affirmed, having dissuaded the *French King*, from attempting *Geneva*, when he thought to have obliged the Church of *Rome*, by reducing of it. And oh that *England*, whilst they have time, would be warned by the miseries of others, to avoid the rock they have split upon. Had the former Kings of *Spaine* used in any degree, the lenity that that Crown at present practiseth in their Netherlands, where now a known protestant may obtain his freedom of several Cities, without having his Religion enquired into, as at *Bruges*, *Newport*, &c. those Countries had not been so thin of people, nor *Spain* so depopulated as they are, nor yet the whole house of *Austria* so low, as it now seems to be. Nay, had the *Pope* made formerly so little use of his Inquisition, as he doth at this time, few places being less inquisitive after mens belief, than *Rome*, where one may be as good as he will, and spend all his days without being proceeded against, either Ecclesiastically or Civilly, for not comming to their Churches, *Italy* had had more people than it hath, and been more considerable than it is: The *French* could never advance by Massacrees, of which, they are reckoned to have had thirty or forty, at several times, in several places, nor yet get forward in power and greatness, until they laid aside Persecution; confessing, as

Lewis the 13th. did at the taking of *Rochell*, that although it would rejoyce him to have all his Subjects of the same belief with himself, and that he should use all sweet means possible to draw them to it, yet since the experience of times past, had sufficiently made *France* to know, that Religion is not to be planted by the Sword, but (to use his own words) that it is God alone that must incline the heart, and illuminate the understanding with his knowledge; he assured them he would never use Violence in matters of Religion, and to give that King his due, he truly inherited the merciful good Nature of his incomparable Father.

*The History
of the Siege
of Rochell.*

Secondly, It may be concluded to be the Interest of the King and Kingdom of *England*, to grant Liberty of Conscience, because by a general consent of Nations, liberty in ceremonies, invented by men, seems to be accounted necessary for the good of humane society, For I believed may without boldness affirm, that *England* is singular in prosecuting them, who are one with them in Doctrine, for differing only in ceremonies, no other Christian Church that I know of, doing the like. In *Germany*, the *Lutherans* have scarce, in any two Cities, or Countries, the same ceremonies; *Nuremburg*, and *Leipsig*, having almost as many as the *Papists*, and yet differ in them; *Hamburg* hath fewer, and *Strasburg* none at all; and so it is through all the *Lutheran* Cities and Countries in the Empire, and yet agreeing in Doctrine; their differing in circumstantial, make no breach of charity amongst them, although all the same Communion. I have seen some receive standing, as others have kneeling. The Church of *Rome*, in their using the inventions of men, in the worship of God, seems (their Principles considered) to act rationally, because they pretend to the assistance of an infallible Spirit; but for the Reformed Churches, I who do not pretend to any such help to maintain that the Lord of Heaven and Earth, who is so jealous of his own worship, that under the Law, he severely prohibited the adding to, or diminishing one little from, what

what he had commanded, and under the Gospel, gave no other Commission, than to teach according to what he had commanded, that he hath left his Worship to the inventions of corrupt, frail man, inclinable above all things to superstition and idolatry, and who are by nature, endlessly various in their imaginations, sense, and understandings, seems to be irrational, and to accuse Christ, of not having been, as a Son, so careful of his Church, as *Moses*, a servant, was of the Church of God under the Law: for had Christ intended to have left his Church under a negative obedience in worship, making all things lawful that he had not forbidden, the command had been as readily made, to do whatsoever he had not prohibited, as it was to do whatsoever he hath commanded; And that the Church of *Rome*, who pretends to infallibility, should not exact Conformity in Ceremonies, where there is an agreement in Doctrine, as they do not even in *Rome* it self, (where they might force it, without prejudice to Trade, having little to obstruct) there being in that City several Popish Churches, differing from one another in Ceremonies, and all abundantly from that properly called the *Roman* Church, and yet agreeing in Doctrine, have publick toleration, without exceptions; and yet that the Church of *England*, who pretends not to infallibility, should to their civil prejudice, be rigid in imposing them, upon those that agree with them, not only in Fundamentals, but in all material points of Faith, Worship, and obedience, with punishment for denial, I cannot conceive the reason, except without Ceremonies, to administer matter of employment, in punishing tender Consciences, they think they should be without work, in any kind adequate to their great Revenues, and that they dread the consequence of uselessness.

Thirdly, Liberty of Conscience to all Protestant Non-conformists, is the true Interest of King and Kingdome, in that it is absolutely and indispensibly necessary, for raising the value of Land, which at present is miserably mean and low,

low, and advancing the Trade and Wealth of the Kingdome.

First, Because imposition upon Conscience, hinders the resort of Strangers, and so the encrease of people, whereof *England* is greatly wanting, coming so far short of *Holland* in numbers, (whereby that Province alone, is made more considerable than all the other six) that whereas they are calculated to have six Souls for one Acre of ground, *England*, I fear, hath hardly one for ten, and the riches of *Holland*, under such multitudes, as the provisions of their own Countrey are said not to be sufficient to nourish above an eighth part of their People (all the rest being supplied by the Sea, and Trade with other Countries) argues Plenty of Inhabitants to be a benefit to Trading Countries, and Forrein Conquests or Plantations, exhausting men and money, where there is not an overplus of both, a prejudice which ought to be avoided.

Interest of
Holland.

Secondly, Imposition upon Conscience, drives the soberest, and most industrious sort of Natives into corners, leaving trade into too few hands, and to a kind of people that do but rarely mind it; amongst whom, though there are some that get large estates, it is not the thriving of a small number, but diffusive wealth, that makes a Countrey rich. And, as most of the Corporations in *England* have declined in their flourishing condition, since many of the soberest, and publick spirited Citizens and Townsmen, have, by the imposition of Oaths they could not comply with, been barred all share in Government, so the influence would have been the same, upon the whole Nation, had not His Majesty wisely considered the good of his Kingdome, in expressing his sense for Liberty, and in some kind, conniving at it. And if men, setting aside passion, would but seriously remember, and ponder the sad consequence of ancient Popish Episcopal Persecutions, in the deaths (by several brutish wayes and torments) of many millions of precious Christians, in *France*, *England*, *Netherlands*, *Germany*, the *Alpine Vallies*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, producing no other effects, than the

the depopulating of the two last, and increasing the number of Dissenters in all the rest, besides the irreparable damage of this Kingdome, in their former Bishops, driving the woollen Manufactures back into the *Netherlands*, (as the King of *Spain* had before driven them into *England*) by Persecution, where they have ever since increased, and where they now remain, sad Monuments to this Nation, of the impolitick severity of those times, they could not but be convinced of the vanity and wickedness of such practices, as well as of the civil prejudice they bring to Nations, in destroying of their people, and therein depriving them of the benefit of Industry, thinking charitably of that saying, which was anciently in vogue, and is still in some places remembred, that when a Bishop is created, the Devil enters into him, and makes him his Executioner; which as it had its original in times of Popery, so it concerns their Bishops only.

Fourthly and Lastly, As it is the King and Kingdome of *Englands* Interest, to give Liberty of Conscience to all Protestant Dissenters, so it is not only to deny it to the Papists, after the example of other reformed Countries, as *Denmark*, *Sweden*, several Princes in *Germany*, and the reformed Cantons in *Switzerland*, but also to take care to prevent the growth of them, and that upon a civil score; as first, because they own a forreign head upon the account of their Religion, in which, they are carried on by such a blind zeal, as cannot render them less, than Spies, and Intelligencers for that Interest, and ready upon all occasions to appear for it. And even the wisest Popish States, acknowledge the reason of this principle, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* affirming, that the *Venetians*, as not holding it safe, to have any in their Counsels, who have forreign dependance by Oath, Homage, natural Obligation, Pension, or Reward, when their Senate is Assembled, causeth Proclamation (before shutting of the doors) to be made, for all Priests to depart, and he who in this Commonwealth, is called the Divine of the State (an Ecclesiastical Person, to be advised within matters of Religion

gion) is commonly chosen such a one, as is reputed the least Bigot in that Religion, as in the memory of some living, *Padri Pauli*, and after him *Fulgentio*, both Successively performed that office, and were esteemed favourers of the Reformation, and corresponders with *Diodati* of *Geneva*, and if Papists dare not trust their own Clergy in their Counsels, upon the account of their forreign dependance, Protestants upon the same account, have no cause to trust Popish Subjects in their Countries, longer, than until they that are now living, die away, and that they can breed their Children to the Protestant Religion: I am not ignorant, that there are a sort of men, who, with the Author of that Book, Intituled *The State of England*, seek to infule a beleif into the People, that the dispensing with the Laws against the Papists, is necessary for the prevention of persecution to Protestant Subjects, by their Popish Princes; but the imposers of that opinion, presumes more upon ignorance, and easie nature, in the most of men, than upon any strength their is in their arguments: for this suggested danger, must referr to *Spain*, *Italy*, the Emperour, or the *French King*; and for the two first, they have by former Persecution, (though not without depopulating of their severall Countries) left no Native Protestants in them; so that however *England* shall deal with their own Papists, the King of *Spain*, nor the Pope, have any Protestant Subjects, to use better, or worse, and for the few reformed Merchant-strangers that are among them, they must (for their own Interest, in reference to Commerce) suffer them to enjoy a trading liberty, without having their Religion inquired into, and more then that, they are never likely to have. And as to the Emperour, he being through facility of Nature, acted by the Church, hath (to almost the ruin of himself, as well as his Protestants) spent all his Reign hitherto in a greivous and sore persecution of the Reformed in his Hereditary Countries (having no power over them in other places of *Germany*) for by it, he hath lost a great part of *Hungaria*, and in a fair way of losing the rest, besides that, he hath thereby much prejudiced Trade, and

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lessened

lessened his people ; for even the Protestant Gentry and Nobility, who, by birth, have great Immunities, and ought not to be imposed upon in matters of Religion, were (lately) some forced to leave their Countries, and others who stayed, to entertain none but Papist Servants in their Families, so that *England* by no kind of treatment of their Papists, can increase the Emperours persecution (which is already so high) of his Protestant Subjects. And for the *French* King, he cannot

The Edict of Nantes granted by Henry 4th. 30 April, 1598

persecute his Reformed, without breach of the Eject of *Nantes* (their *Magna Charta*) and several other Laws, giving them as good a right to exercise their Religion, as the Pa-

The Edict of Nantes, confirmed by Lewis 13th. the 22 May, 1610. and again 10 Nov. 1615. and by Lewis 14th. the 8 July, 1643. confirmed in Parliament, 3 Aug. 1643. and again confirmed by the said Lewis 14th. this present King, the 21 May, 1652,

papists have for theirs, making them also capable of all civil offices, privileges, and preferments equal with Papists, and that upon consideration of having been alwayes loyal and faithful to the Crown, so that there is no purity betwixt the *French* Kings Arbitrary breaking of his Laws, against the reason of them, which hath not yet been forfeited, and which were made (with acknowledged gratitude) for

the preservation of the reformed. And the King of *England*, with the continued reason of his Laws (witness the Massacre in *Ireland*) his keeping and executing them against his Papists, but further, those that observe any thing of *France*, must confess, that that King, in matters of Religion, regards no examples of others, or any thing but his own designs, as in his present persecution of his reformed Subjects, he may well be judged to aime at the advancing of his reputation, with the Church of *Rome*, as a means to help him forward in his aspiring designs ; for but few years since, when the Papists were under the most severity in *England*, the Protestants were under most liberty in *France*, and now they enjoy the greatest liberty in *England*, the Reformed are the most persecuted in *France* : but besides those circumstances, it cannot but be of evil consequence, and a lessening unto Sovereignty,

to own the having an eye to other Princes, in the execution of their Laws, for nothing can be more dishonourable to a Prince, than to be under the awe of Forreign Potentates in his administration, within his own Dominions; but this Gentleman doth not alwayes ponder what he writes, for when I consider his sharpness against the

Presbyterians &c. in *England*; calling *State of England, pag. 50.*
 them Mushromes, Tares, and the Sons of *56. 60.*

Belial, insinuating the transplantation and extirpation of them, I cannot but wonder he should have so much concern for the Reformed abroad, who are the same with the Presbyterians of *England*, and therefore must judge it to proceed from favour to the Papists, towards whom, he so tenderly avoids all reflections and severity, as if he thought the revolt of a Presbyterian, &c. to Popery, to merit a pardon from transplantation or extirpation, and not from any kindnesse he can have for the Protestants in other Countreys. Nor do I know how to reconcile his boasting of the transcending Charity of the Church of *England* towards other Churches, with his accusing them of looking upon the Non-conformists of *England* as Bastards, or making no account of any other Interest in them, than a man makes of the Vermin which breed out of his excrementitious sweat, or those *Ascarides*, which comes sometimes in his most uncleanly parts; but for such homely expressions, surely the Church of *England* will not think themselves beholding to him, no more than for rendring them so charitable to those that differ from them both in Doctrine and Discipline, as the Papists do, who are the Church he must mean, and so uncharitable to those that agree with them in all material points of Doctrine, and differ only from them in circumstantialia, as the Non-conformists do.

Secondly, The growth of Papists in *England*, ought to be prevented, because there is a kind of natural unaptness to business in that Religion (compared to the reformed) as *Italy* and *Spain*, where they are the greatest Bigots, do evidence; besides, that the same seems to be made good in

England, in that for one Papist stranger of business, that is in it, there is thought to be fifty Protestants, or more, though, I hear, that the difference in the number of the one and th' other Religion, is not much, and the fewer idle, and unprofitable persons any Country hath, the more prosperous it must needs be.

Thirdly, Because the vast sums of money that go out of *England*, sent by Papists, to such uses, as they call pious; for putting young Gentlewomen into Nunneries, and breeding Gentlemens sons in Popish Schools and Universities, is a great impoverishing of the Nation, and so a prejudice to Trade, the School at St. Omers having seldome less than an hundred and twenty *English* youths, and the Colledge at *Doway*, eighty or more Students, besides their other Schools, Universities, Convents, and Nunneries, scattered over all the Popish territories, (founded on purpose to encrease that Interest in *England*, corrupt, and pervert their Gentry) which are too many to enumerate.

And lastly, Because the multitude of lazie Priests and Jesuits, sent as Emissaries, to seduce Protestants, and encourage Papists in their errors, are a vast charge to those of that Religion, and in them, to the Nation, without contributing any thing to the good of mankind: And if the *French* King thinks it his Interest, in order to the rendring himself Protector of the *Romish* Religion, to suppress his Protestant Subjects, who, by Law, have a right to Liberty of Conscience, equal with the Papists, who own no other Head but their Native King, and who were so faithful to him, that when reduced to the greatest extremities at *Rochel*, and forced to implore the assistance of *England*, yet would never depart from their Allegiance, in putting themselves under *England*, when solicited to it; The King of *England* hath much more reason to think it his Interest, in order to his safety, and making himself Head of the Protestant Party, to suppress the Papists, who own another Head, and to have a Foreign Interest, and who are bred to Principles which lead them to a restless plotting against their Sovereigns,

King James his Proclamations, 27 Feb. 1603. and 10. Janu. 1606. and the preamb. of the Stat. of 35. Eliz. cap. 2.

if contrary to them in Religion, never joyning with such, but upon design for themselves, holding the murder of King and People, Rebellion, or any thing else, which they judge may tend to the propagating of their Religion, lawful, in the case of such as they call Heriticks, as those who have conversed with Papists abroad, where they sometimes speak their hearts, and own their principles, do know, as well as the Gun-powder Treason, the Massacre in *Ireland*, and the many plots in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, (which cannot be forgotten) do sufficiently witness: In contemplation whereof were (I suppose) made those wise Statutes, enacting that the Popish Recusants, shall ^{35 Eliz. ch. 1. &} be restrained to their private Houses in the ^{3. Jacob. ch. 5.} Countrey, and not at any time after to pass, or remove above five miles from thence, upon pain of forfeiture for life, of all lands, goods, and chattels; That none of them, convicted, or to be convicted, shall remain within ten miles of *London*, nor come into the Court, or House, where his Majesty, or Heir apparent shall be, nor have in their own houses, or in the hands or possession of any others, at their disposition, any Arms, Gun-powder, or Ammunition whatsoever; and by the Book of Thanksgiving appointed for the fifth of *November*, set forth by King *James* and the Parliament, it is enjoyned to pray upon that day, for the strengthening of the hands of the King and Magistrates of the Land, to cut off with Judgement and Justice, those workers of iniquity, the Papists, whose Religion is Rebellion, whose Faith is Faction, whose practise is the murdering of Souls and Bodies, and to root them out of the Confines of the Kingdome.

And now, since the Wisdome of the Nation hath judged the Papists so dangerous, it may seem strange, that putting the Laws in execution against the Non-conformists, should be thought a good reason for the prosecution of them, and be none against the other, of whose dangerous principles there hath been such large experience; some observations here may peradventure be thought strained and new, as that there

there is a kind of Natural unaptness in the Popish Religion to business, whereas, on the contrary, amongst the Reformed, the greater their zeal, the greater is their inclinations to Trade and Industry, as holding Idleness unlawful, but experience in most places makes it good : as in *Spain* and *Italy*, no one City can boast of any great Trade driven by their Natives, the greatest part of their Commerce being carried on by Protestant strangers, *Amsterdam* alone, having more Trade then all the Sea Towns of *Italy* and *Spain* have, put together : but to come closer to the observation ; In *Germany*, even in those Cities where they are Papists, without toleration to any other, there the Reformed may be said to carry all the Trade, as at *Colne*, in other Towns where they are *Lutherans*, with a publick toleration to Papists, which is denied to *Calvinists*, there the Reformed carry the Trade clearly from both *Lutherans* and *Papists*, the latter having little, as at *Frankford*, upon the Main. In other places, where the Cities are half *Papists*, half *Lutherans*, without toleration to any other, there the latter have the Trade, as at *Augsburgh*. In *France*, the Reformed, for their number, are the greatest Traders, though that people being looser from the Bishop of *Rome* than *Spain* or *Italy*, are more given to Industry then either of those Nations ; but yet, that the Reformed are by much the more Industrious, appears, in that they have no beggars amongst them, though calculated to exceed three or four millions of souls ; it having been observed by one that travelled *France* round and crossed it several wayes, that in all his travels in it, he never met with one Protestant beggar, and yet the multitudes of Popish, are such, that it hath upon tryal been found, that in going from the City of *Rouen* in *Normandy*, to the Protestants Church (two English miles and an half out of town) to give every beggar but that which they call a *double*, (hardly the sixth part of a penny) will cost a *Lewis d'or*, which is at least 17 s. sterling. These Instances cannot be denied by any traveller, that hath been curious to enquire into the condition of these places ; and examples are the same in Politicks, as experience is in Naturals. Upon my own ob-

observation hereof, being inquisitive after the reason a person of Quality, and Minister of State to one of the Electors of *Germany*, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted, granted the truth of these things, but went no farther for the Reason, than that the Religion of the Reformed, was an argument of their Wit, and that their Understandings made them the abler Merchants.

And now, upon the whole, since it appears that Trade depends much upon liberty of Conscience, the suggestions against it, either from unexperienced, or concerned persons, are not to be regarded; Country Gentlemen, bred only at home, to a Religion which exacts little from them, besides, Conformity to humane Ceremonies, with opposition to every thing that is contrary, being tenacious of that which is so pleasing and grateful to fraile Nature, are not generally competent Judges of this Interest, nor yet any sort of People, who, having spent their days in studying Books, more than Men, or Things, employing themselves more in punishing tender Consciences for not obeying in the Worship of God, the Commandments of men, than in the weightiest duties of their Callings, as in suppressing Papists, ignorant, debauched and scandalous Ministers, rendring their Actions thereby to proceed more from Self-interest, than an enlightned and sincere Conscience, are not in this case against demonstrations to be harkened unto.

And indeed, it is a work most suitable unto Sovereignty, the Grand-child of *Henry* the great of *France*, and the large experience of his Majesty in Cases of Religion in other Countries, to surmount all selfish opposition in this matter, for the advancement of his own Interest, and the good of his people, which whatsoever flatterers may suggest to the contrary, are bound up together. I know that the Enemies to Liberty of Conscience, do impose upon the world, an apprehension of danger in it; but the position hath no Foundation in reason, presidents, or any thing else, save a confident running down
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of truth, for their own advantage, it no where appearing, that ever Protestants dissenting from their National Church, having Liberty of Conscience given them, did rise up against their King, or disturbed the quiet of their Country, as those of the *Romish* Church have in all Ages, and Nations done. For as the Reformed Religion obligeth its Members to Worship God according to his Will revealed in his Word, so keeping good Consciences in that, it teacheth them obedience to their Sovereigns, in civil commands. It is confessed, that the old *waldenses*, Subjects of the Duke of *Savoy*, have sometimes fled to Arms for defence of themselves, in the exercise of their Religion; but although the advantages they have often had of their Princes, have been great, yet no sooner was ever Liberty granted them, then they laid down Arms, returning again to obedience, in which they alwayes continued, until their Articles were broke, which (contrary to Faith) was frequently done: and the like cannot be denyed unto the Protestants of *France*, *Hungary*, and other places, whereas on the contrary, antient and modern Story, afford us plentyful relations of those of the *Romish* Religion, rising up against their Kings, when they have had full liberty in Religion, and no restraint upon them in their Worship: as who were greater Instruments in the Barons Wars in *England*, against their Kings, and in the changes that followed thereupon, than the Church in time of Popery; were not the many Tragedies, acted antiently in *Scotland*, in such times, when they were all Papists? Did not the *Romish* Catholicks in *France*, notwithstanding theirs was the National Religion, depose, and degrade, their lawful Sovereign *Henry* the 4th. the Parliament of *Tholouse*, in his absence, arraigning, and condemning him to death, executing him in his Effigies by Harquebushes; none of which Traiterous and Rebellious usage, did that great and excellent King (Grandfather of His Majesty of *England*) although he recovered all by force of Arms, in the least revenge; by which generous, as well as politick carriage, he added to the Conquest

Duke of Rohan his
Memoires.

quest of his Country, the conquest of the hearts of all his people, reconciling at once all the animosities and factions, which had been the product of near forty years Civil war; Are they not Papists in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where, in our time, have been so many revolts and mutations, with the deposition, or confinement of the present King of *Portugal*; the late Confederates in *Poland* against their King, were all Papists, and of a Countrey where Popery is the National Religion. The present *French* Kings danger in 1650, &c. was from his Popish, and was delivered chiefly by his Reformed Subjects. The Papists in *Ireland* had (as none can deny) liberty for exercise of their Religion, exceedingly above what the Non-conformists had at that time, when they committed that not to be paralleled bloody, and more than barbarous Massacre in the year 1641. Nay, the steady greatness and quiet of *Sweeden*, is of no elder date, than since they cast off Popery, pulled down their Bishops, and embraced *Protestantism*, the Church, having been, until then; the occasion of much trouble unto that Kingdome. And none of these particulars, being deniable, the Papists cannot, without great impudence, boast (as many of them do) of their fidelity to their Princes, accusing the Protestants with want of it, and especially since if these instances were not enough to make good the assertion, that the Protestants are the best, and Papists the worst of Subjects, the like might be observed of every individual Countrey and Nation in the Christian part of *Europe*, in the times of Popery; but supposing these to be sufficient, I shall not give my self any farther trouble, upon this point, or other domestick concern of *England*, but proceed to the external importances of that Kingdom.

And first, As the Foreign Interest of a Nation looks outward, and in order to its good and preservation, regards the actings and designs of forreign Princes and States (especially their Neighbours) endeavouring to reduce them to that which may most agree with their own good and safety;

so it is the Interest of the King and Kingdom of *England*, to make use of the advantages their strength and situation gives them, in weighing the Imperial powers of Christendome, keeping the ballance, by adding to, or diminishing from any of them, as best suits with Justice, and their own Interests. And as undoubtedly His Majesty hath done more than any since good *Queen Elizabeth* (if for a short time a sort of people not fit to be remembred did not the same) in hitting upon his true Foreign Interest, in that triple League of which he was the Author, and into which he hath, with so much wisdom and prudence lately entered, for opposing all growing greatness by Sea or Land, in the *French*, they being already too potent for their bordering Neighbours, so constantly and effectually to adhere thereunto, in joyning with all others to that end; and particularly with *Spain*, with whom *England* hath a much more profitable Trade than with *France*, is (according to present affairs) the same; For should *France*, by the acquisition of those convenient Provinces and Ports of the *Netherlands*, become Competitors with *England* in Trade (to say no worse of them) they would, in a short time, make good Sir

Sir Walter Rawleighs Character of them, in
 Cabinet Counsellor. being false, insolent, and covetous neighbours.

Secondly, As *England* and the *United Netherlands* (which are, in ordinary discourse understood by the name of *Holland*, that Province, by way of eminence, giving denomination unto the whole) are the two great Masters of Naval strength, and seated with such advantages for assisting each other, that whilst a true intelligence is preserved betwixt them, it is not in nature for all their enemies, combining together, to prejudice either of them, so it is the true Interest of *England*, to maintain a firm and perpetual friendship and union with them; and that,

First, Because as the *Netherlands* are naturally strong, so they are above all other Countreys, fitted by situation, for the

the use of *England*, to give check to any aspiring Prince, and be as invincible Bulwarks, against the All-devouring designs of the *French King*, in being able at any time, with the countenance of *England*, to destroy him at Sea, who being brought down there, and so in his Commerce, will soon abate of his Power at Land; and surely nothing can be more for the security of *Europe*, than to reduce the Naval Strength of that threatening King, within former bounds, for the world found, that until the *Spaniard* lost his Maritime force, in the year 1639. which he never after recovered, he maintained his design for the Universal Monarchy, very vigorously, and never sunk till then.

Secondly, Because it is equally their Interest with *England*, in reference to their Navigation, to keep the Balance betwixt the Northern Kings and Sovereigns, not suffering any of them to engross that Sea, because Naval Commodities coming thence, neither of them can be safe, longer than the Sea remains divided among several Princes and States, whose general Interest it can never be to deny them necessities for their shipping (the chief Walls of their several Countries) or a general Trade with them, as a Monarch, he being sole Master of the whole, would peradventure, in some cases judge it his, and presume to refuse them all accommodations; and this principle, the States of *Holland*, have wisely, in our dayes, several times owned, as in the years 1643. in siding with the Crown of *Sweden*, when the *Danes* would (had not the States assistance been in the way) have run them down at Sea; as also on the contrary, in the year 1658, in taking part with the *Danes*, when the *Swedes* had otherwise done the like by them, by which means, both the Crowns are preserved, and kept within tolerable limits and bounds.

Thirdly, Because that as Providence seems to have placed them with conveniencies for joyning with *England*, in keeping all other Maritime Princes, or Powers in order, so, without any capacity of being dangerous to their Neigh-

Neighbours, their Constitution being such, as will not well admit of any further acquits.

Fourthly, Because as *England* and *Holland*, are of one and the same Religion, save in some Ceremonies, so it would be of great encouragement, and countenance to all the Protestant Countries, to have a firm League betwixt two such formidable Powers, of their own belef, and as great a trouble and disturbance, to all the Popish Counsels.

Fifthly, Because the World having had such large experience of the happy success of their Conduct, in being principal Instruments in preventing the House of *Austria* in their grand design for the universal Monarchy, and consequently, in the propagation of the reformed Religion, as well as at several times, in preventing both *Dane* and *Sweed*, from either of them devouring the other; it were surely high impolity, as well as in some degree ingratitude, to suffer such useful Instruments and Allies, to whom this Generation is so much obliged, for their wise and excellent management of the general Interest of these parts of *Europe*, to be destroyed.

These States I know have many Enemies, some envying their Trade and Riches, others their revolt from the King of *Spain*, as of bad example, and the Church of *Rome*, their established National Religion, as that which is past shaking; but because none of these arguments can be plausibly made use of against them by the Papists, who dreads the conjunction of *England* with them, nor by those Princes, and States, who assisted them in their revolt, the grand reason for subducing of them, is made the greatness of their Trade, which being destroyed, would be divided amongst their Neighbours, loading them sometimes untruly, with accusations of unjust dealings, exactions, and falseness; to which I shall only answer this, that although I have no cause to become an Advocate for them, from any advantages or benefit received, yet having travelled their Countries, observed their

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Manners, and read their Disputes, and Transactions with other Nations, I think it but an Act of Justice to acknowledge, that in the generality of their Morals, they are a reproach to some Nations, (and particularly, in so little using that Art of over-valuing their Commodities in their selling to *France*, who so shamefully use and practise it) and as to their Treaties, and Alliances, after which I have been inquisitive, I have sometimes found them wrongfully charged with breach of Articles, and do not find cause to accuse them of having been in the observance of Treaties, less candid, or faithful, than other Countries, and I cannot think, their Trade, or Wealth, (although I believe that *Holland* singly taken, is the richest spot of ground for its bigness, that ever was since the Creation) to be a good or honest Foundation of a quarrel: for their Commerce being alone the effects of Industry, and Ingenuity, it is no reason for any to be angry with others, because they exceed them in those Virtues; but besides, that the destroying of the *Netherlands*, would be the shaking the safety of these Northern Regions, the increase of Trade to other Countries, so much promised by some in their destruction, would surely fail; for were Trade ruined in *Holland*, as less cannot be the effects of Conquest and Slavery, the example and emulation of their Trade, which hath been the great increase of it in other Countries, being taken away, and Trade fallen to a sort of People of less concern for it, men would grow lazy and weary of Commerce, every one thinking they did well, so long, as they were upon equal terms with their Neighbours; so that the subversion of *Holland*, would be no benefit to any, save to the *French King*, into whose mouth their Country would most fall, who wanting nothing for the making of him uncontrollable, but Havens and Ports to harbour Ships, nourish and breed Seamen, would find supply there, and whose Kingdome, being over-stocked with People, would be able to spare men to plant an un-inhabited Countrey, as would certainly be the fate of *Holland*, under a Conquest and Arbitrary Government.

ment, as it hath been to all the free Cities in *Tuscany*, and *Italy*, since they lost their Liberty; whereas *England* wanting neither Havens nor Ports, nor having an over-plus of people, it would be a damage to them in the loss of their Inhabitants, and an unprofitable Charge to maintain Foreign Colonies, where the Seas must be perpetually crossed for supplying of them with Men, Money, and necessaries; insomuch that the *Netherlands*, under such circumstances as they would be reduced unto by subduing of them, would not be in the hands of the *English*, so much for their own security, as in theirs that now possess them, for restraint and freedom makes so great difference in prosperity, that less than Liberty, encouraging Trade and Industry, would never be able to maintain their Walls against the Sea, which are kept up with incredible Labour, Charge, and Ingenuity, but expose those parts lying upon the Sea, which are many times more considerable than all the rest, to be devoured by it, or laid much under Water, and so rendred inconsiderable. And the truth of this principle in thus much advancing the benefit of freedom above Arbitrary Government, which would be the lot of *Holland* under any Conquerour, may be observed by the two Cities of *wesell* and *Mastrick*, which whilst in the hands of the *Spaniard*, were without Trade, miserable, wretched, and poor, many of the houses of the latter being left in ruins by the Inhabitants, as wanting ability to repair them; and now in less than 38 or 39 years, that the States have been Masters of them, they are both become flourishing places, the latter being in a great part new built, with one of the fairest and best new publick Town-house that is ordinarily met with, next *Amsterdam*, and *Augustbourg* in *Germany*. But if there were not these Considerations in the case, as well as that of the advantage that the fall of *Holland* would be to the *French*, which alone is sufficient to engage *England* to support them, it could no way be the Interest of *England* to ruine them, to the end to encrease their own Trade, because

because if their aims be only traffick, the world affords matter enough to satisfie both Nations, and that *England* hath so much the advantage of *Holland* in natural helps for Trade; that if they do but improve them, they cannot miss of exceeding all others in it; and if they will be careless of their common concerns, they ought not to draw an argument from their own neglects and sloth, for the envying other mens activity and diligence.

And lastly, so long as a firm Peace and amity is maintained by *England* with the *Netherlands*, they may look upon them as the out works, which must be first taken in by any invader that will attempt them, for as it never can be the intrest, or in the power of *Holland*, to invade *England*, so their Interest in reference to Religion, as well as Civil security, will alwayes oblige them not to suffer any others to do it, or to endanger them, in whose safety they can only be safe, it being the clear Interest of *England* not to suffer any other Potentate to subvert their Government: So that upon the whole, since the subduing of *Holland* cannot be a benefit but loss to *England*, and may be of great advantage to *France*, and the Church of *Rome*, against which they are impregnable Fortresses; with some smaller profit to other Popish Sovereigns bordering upon them; as to the Elector of *Colne*, and Bishop of *Munster*, &c. It must be the cheif Forreign Interest of *England* to support the present Government of *Holland*.

Thirdly it is the interest of *England* to hold a good Correspondence with *Spain*, not only because that People being little inclinable to Commerce gives a Trading Countrey the more advantage in their Friendship, but also for that, that Crown is necessarily to be made use of, for the ballancing of *France*.

Fourthly, and lastly, as the French King striveth for the Protectorship of the Romish Profession, so it is surely the King of *England*'s Interest, to render himself (wherein he can have no opposition) the General Protector of of the Protestant Religion; whereby he will become more formidable, and glorious, then he can by any other means: For as *Queen Elizabeth*, adhering thoroughly, and cordially to that Party; advancing the Religion, holding intelligence, and taking part with them in all their engagements, and considerable treaties; was not only able in the infancy of the Reformation in *England*, to maintain the reformed in *Scotland*; *France*, and the *Netherlands*, against their Enemies, their then several Sovereigns, but also, at last to bring down *Philip* the second of *Spain* (one of the wisest, and greatest Kings they ever had) and in him, the whole Popish Party; by which her memory is made famous unto posterity; so his Majesty having many less difficulties, to struggle with, than she had by espousing the same principles, cannot fail of the like glorious success. And

And now, to sum up the Domestic Interest of *England*, it lyeth in the advancement of Trade, by removing all obstructions both in City and Country, providing such Laws, as may any way help it, and make it most easy, especially in giving Liberty of Conscience to all Protestant Non-conformists, and denying it to Papists; In not coveting Foreign Conquests, which have alwayes been prejudicial and can never be of advantage to them: and retrench the unreasonable Fees of Lawyers, Physicians, and Officers, as they are great impoverishers of the Nation: And as to the Forreign Interest of *England*, that may be calculated, to be in keeping the balance among their Neighbours, and other *European Princes*; being in order therennto, firm to their present tripple League, and in that especially to *Holland*, in holding a good correspondence with *Spain*, and in being jealous of all growing greatness in the *French*, keeping the Baltick Sea open, in His Majesties making himself Protector of the whole Protestant party, and as Peace is the advancer of Trade, to seek it, and not war, except an inavoidable necessity require it. And thus I shall conclude this Chapter, and in it, the Interest of *England*, With begging pardon of the Author of that Book, intituled, A Discourse of Ecclesiastical politie, for my Non-conformity to his Doctrine, which teacheth, That it is safer for a Prince to allow Vice and Debauchery, than Liberty of Conscience, whereby he prefers the breach of the ten Commandements, and that which the whole Word of God, the Old and New Testament, the Law and Gospel, so dreadfully threatens, and declares against, before that, which neither the practise of our Saviour, nor his Apostles, nor any Text in Scripture forbids, or at least, himself being Judge, nor positively, and indisputably, as they do the other, wherein, I confess, I am so far from agreeing with him, as also in many of his other railing principles. not much better, that I think the Church of *England* hath reason to wish his Book had been writ by some of another Coat, and of a more remote relation to the Church then the Author is reputed to be, by reason of the advantage that their enemies may have, of drawing arguments from it, to prove their old Charge, that the power of godliness is so far from being held out, in the Lives, Conversations, and Principles of many of their Preists, that they rather seek to debauch, and make the people wicked and profane.

This is all I have at present to say of this Country, besides adventuring to Prophecie, that when *England*, (neglecting Church Politicks, which are commonly founded in passion, revenge, and self, and Lawyers Divinity, which is generally collected out of their own Books, more than the Books of God) will effectually pursue their true Interest, they cannot fail (their natural advantages for trade considered) of being more great and glorious than any other Nation.